

The College Board
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY
SECTION II
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

Directions: The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

1. President Franklin D. Roosevelt is commonly thought of as a liberal and President Herbert C. Hoover as a conservative. To what extent are these characterizations valid?

Document A

Source: Candidate Herbert Hoover, speech, New York, New York (October 22, 1928)

"It is a false liberalism that interprets itself into the government operation of commercial business. Every step of bureaucratizing of the business of our country poisons the very roots of liberalism—that is, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press, and equality of opportunity. It is the road not to more liberty, but to less liberty. Liberalism should be found not striving to spread bureaucracy but striving to set bounds to it. . . .

"I do not wish to be misunderstood in this statement. I am defining a general policy. It does not mean that our government is to part with one iota of its national resources without complete protection to the public interest. . . .

"Nor do I wish to be misinterpreted as believing that the United States is free-for-all and devil take the hindmost. The very essence of equality of opportunity and of American individualism is that there shall be no domination by any group or combination in this republic, whether it be business or political. On the contrary, it demands economic justice as well as political and social justice. It is no system of laissez faire. . . .

"Years ago the Republican administration established the principle that such evils could be corrected by regulation. It developed methods by which abuses could be prevented while the full value of industrial progress could be retained for the public. It insisted upon the principle that when great public utilities were clothed with the security of partial monopoly, whether it be railways, power plants, telephones, or what not, then there must be the fullest and most complete control of rates, services, and finances by government or local agencies. It declared that these businesses must be conducted with glass pockets. . . ."

Document B

Source: President Herbert Hoover, second annual message to Congress (December 2, 1930)

"... Economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement. . . . The best contribution of government lies in encouragement of this voluntary cooperation in the community. The government—national, state, and local—can join with the community in such programs and do its part.

"As a contribution to the situation the federal government is engaged upon the greatest program of waterway, harbor, flood control, public building, highway, and airway improvement in all our history. This, together with loans to merchant shipbuilders, improvement of the navy and in military aviation, and other construction work of the government will exceed \$520,000,000 for this fiscal year. This compares with \$253,000,000 in the fiscal year 1928. The construction works already authorized and the continuation of policies in government aid will require a continual expenditure upwards of half a billion dollars annually.

"I favor still further temporary expansion of these activities in aid to unemployment during this winter. The Congress will, however, have presented to it numbers of projects, some of them under the guise of, rather than the reality of, their usefulness in the increase of employment during the depression. There are certain common-sense limitations upon any expansions of construction work. The government must not undertake works that are not of sound economic purpose and that have not been subject to searching technical investigation, and which have not been given adequate consideration by the Congress. The volume of construction work in the Government is already at the maximum limit warranted by financial prudence as a continuing policy."

Document C

Source: President Herbert Hoover, statement to the press (February 3, 1931)

"It is not an issue as to whether people shall go hungry or cold in the United States. It is solely a question of the best method by which hunger and cold shall be prevented. . . .

"And there is a practical problem in all this. The help being daily extended by neighbors, by local and national agencies, by municipalities, by industry and a great multitude of organizations throughout the country today is many times any appropriation yet proposed. The opening of the doors of the federal treasury is likely to stifle this giving and thus destroy far more resources than the proposed charity from the government. . . .

"To reinforce this work at the opening of Congress, I recommended large appropriations for loans to rehabilitate agriculture from the drought and provision of further large sums for public works and construction in the drought territory, which would give employment in further relief to the whole situation . . . to increase federal construction work from a rate of about \$275,000,000 a year prior to the depression to a rate now of over \$750,000,000 a year. . . .

"I have indeed spent much of my life in fighting hardship and starvation both abroad and in the Southern States. I do not feel that I should be charged with lack of human sympathy for those who suffer. . . .

"I am willing to pledge myself that if the time should ever come that the voluntary agencies of the country together with the local and state governments are unable to find resources with which to prevent hunger and suffering in my country, I will ask the aid of every resource of the federal government because I would no more see starvation amongst our countrymen than would any senator or congressman. I have faith in the American people that such a day will not come."

Document D

Source: J. N. ("Ding") Darling in the *Des Moines Register* (December 18, 1931)
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Of course we are all keeping our heads and doing all we can to help.

Document E

Source: Candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (October 19, 1932)

"For over two years our federal government has experienced unprecedented deficits, in spite of increased taxes. . . .

"... you can never expect any important economy from this [Hoover] administration. It is committed to the idea that we ought to center control of everything in Washington as rapidly as possible—federal control. That was the idea that increased the cost of government by a billion dollars in four years. . . .

"... I shall approach the problem of carrying out the plain precept of our party, which is to reduce the cost of current federal government operations by 25 percent. . . .

"In accordance with this fundamental policy it is necessary to eliminate from federal budget-making during this emergency all new items except such as relate to direct relief of unemployment. . . .

"I have sought to make two things clear: first that we can make savings by reorganization of existing departments, by eliminating functions, by abolishing many of those innumerable boards and those commissions . . . to total many hundreds and thousands of dollars a year.

"Second, I hope that it will not be necessary to increase the present scale of taxes. . . .

"The above two categorical statements are aimed at a definite balancing of the budget. At the same time, let me repeat from now to election day so that every man, woman, and child in the United States will know what I mean: if starvation and dire need on the part of any of our citizens make necessary the appropriation of additional funds which would keep the budget out of balance, I shall not hesitate to tell the American people the full truth and ask them to authorize the expenditure of that additional amount. . . ."

Document F

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2* (1975)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FINANCES, 1929-1941
(in billions of dollars)

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Surplus or Deficit (-)</u>	<u>Total Public Debt</u>
1929	\$3.127	\$0.734	\$16.9
1930	3.320	0.738	16.2
1931	3.577	-0.462	16.8
1932	4.659	-2.735	19.5
1933	4.598	-2.602	22.5
1934	6.645	-3.630	27.1
1935	6.497	-2.791	28.7
1936	8.422	-4.425	33.8
1937	7.733	-2.777	36.4
1938	6.765	-1.177	37.2
1939	8.841	-3.862	40.4
1940	9.589	-2.710	43.0
1941	13.980	-4.778	44.0

Document G

Source: President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech, Syracuse, New York (September 29, 1936)

"... Who is there in America who believes that we can run the risk of turning back our government to the old leadership which brought it to the brink of 1933? Out of the strains and stresses of these years we have come to see that the true conservative is the man who has a real concern for injustices and takes thought against the day of reckoning. The true conservative seeks to protect the system of private property and free enterprise by correcting such injustices and inequalities as arise from it. The most serious threat to our institutions comes from those who refuse to face the need for change. Liberalism becomes the protection for the far-sighted conservative.

"Never has a nation made greater strides in the safeguarding of democracy than we have made during the past three years. Wise and prudent men—intelligent conservatives—have long known that in a changing world worthy institutions can be conserved only by adjusting them to the changing time. In the words of the great essayist, 'The voice of great events is proclaiming to us. Reform if you would preserve.'

"I am that kind of conservative because I am that kind of liberal."

Document H

Source: President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech, Washington, D.C. (March 4, 1937)

"... We are celebrating the 1936 victory. That was not a final victory. It was a victory whereby our party won further opportunity to lead in the solution of the pressing problems that perplex our generation. Whether we shall celebrate in 1938, 1940, and in 1944, as we celebrate tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether the party continues on its course and solves those problems.

"And if I have aught to say it will continue on its course and it will solve those problems. . . .

"Here is one-third of a nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed—NOW!

"Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest—NOW!

"Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women laboring for long hours in factories for inadequate pay—NOW!

"Here are thousands upon thousands of children who should be at school, working in mines and mills—NOW!

"Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars—NOW!

"Here are spring floods threatening to roll again down our river valleys—NOW!

"Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again—NOW!

"If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us, if we would make democracy succeed, I say we must act—NOW!"

END OF 1984 DBQ DOCUMENTS